1: Burrows--96 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 591, 881, 841 Ifalik

"Children who belong to the majority so far as their pattern of residence is concerned, --that is, who live in their mother's household and have not had their relationships complicated by adoption--feel a strong secondary relationship with their father's household of orientation. This is expressed in at least one formal pattern of behavior. The rite of passage called taurang, on the occasion of a girl's first menstruation, is celebrated at the homestead where she lives, ordinarily her mother's. But the women who bedizen her with turmeric paint, skirts, and necklaces, come both from that household and from her father's household of orientation. At the close of the ceremony, the girl, with all these women and any other women and children who may care to attend (men are not forbidden, but take no formal notice of these affairs), parades from her homestead to the ancestral homestead of her father. The four days of isolation which custom requires during menstruation are then spent in the menstrual hut on her father's homestead. After that, she may spend these periods either on her father's homestead or on her own. This particular custom is apparently recent, as formerly there was only one, or at most only a few places of seclusion for menstruating women on the whole atoll. But the parade, which also apparently symbolizes her relationship to both households, is ancient, as far as we know."

1: Burrows--181 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 841, 784 Ifalik

"Menstruation is surrounded by taboos, though I did not hear the term fäm applied to a menstruating woman. Women are required to spend these periods in seclusion, in little huts built for the purpose on each homestead. They may not visit the taro patches, nor take part in preparation of food. The little huts used for this seclusion are at all times taboo to men. If a man should enter one of them, the people would all fall sick; or, according to another statement, would starve. On the other hand, if a menstruating woman leaves her seclusion hut, the kind of divination called bwei, described later, will not work.

The vicinity of a small tree on Falārlk, close to the channel that separates that island from Falālap, is taboo to menstruating women. The tree is called rongonax, and is said to be the only one of its kind on the atoll. If a menstruating woman were to come near it, a typhoon would spring up, so severe that sea water would wash all over the atoll."

4: Krämer--108 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 841, 881 Lamotrek

The women stay in the menstrual hut im a fatiu for four days. No ceremonies are involved in the first menses nor the attainment of puberty (see Pollap).

4: Krämer--268 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 841 Woleai

It has been mentioned that the daurang [VMM: young girl] at the time of first menstruation stays in the imalipel for eight days. During this period of time, youths bring her young coconuts, but she may not have much to do with them.

After her return home, her parents and brothers and sisters ask her what young men have brought her coconuts and she names them all. An admonition follows: it is suggested that she choose one of them for a husband and not to bother with vague love affairs.

6: Senfft--55
116, 841

(no date) 1905

Woleaians
Woleai
Lamotrek

During their menstrual period they [MR: women] wear a mat woven of banana fiber, about 40 centimeters wide, which they tie with a string around their hips.

11: Born--188-189 (1903) 1904 Woleaians
116, 841, 836 Woleai

During their menstrual period, pungelog, the women and girls stay in a small house for menstruating women. The girls wear a bunch of light green leaves inserted in their grass skirts at that time. They have strict dietary rules; they may not eat anything prepared or even touched by a man.

It is against the custom to have sexual intercourse with a girl who has not yet begun to menstruate. This, however, is frequently disregarded, especially by older people, in spite of the belief that it may hurt the girl's health.

The Jap custom of isolating a girl for three months after her first menstrual period and blackening her teeth does not prevail here. Public opinion disapproves of sexual intercourse before marriage, while this is allowed on Jap. A girl is always accompanied by a group of children of both sexes, who are, as it were, the guardians of her chastity. It is considered very [189] improper for a girl to go into the bushes by herself. In spite of that, many girls follow their own inclinations at night. There are, however, a large number of 15 and 16 year old girls who remain virgins until their marriage.

28: Spiro--23
841, 241

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"He then turned to the women, warning them against working in the taro patches while menstruating. Again we see the same method of dealing with violations of taboos. The taboo of not entering the taro patch, on supernatural punishment of crop extinction, is known to every one. His necessity of mentioning it at the meeting means that Wolptau had become aware of the violation of the taboo, and dealt with it by this general, admonition, rather than by reprimanding the individual culprit or culprits."

28: Spiro--119 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 864, 881, 841 Ifalik

"Sexual activity, as we have already seen, is completely taboo for the children, and does not become licit [sic] until puberty. In the case of the boys there is no puberty ceremony symbolizing the passage from the one state to the other. The girls, however, undergo a puberty ceremony with the onset of menses."

28: Spiro--119-120 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-4
116, 841, 881, 821, 539 Ifalik

"When a girl's mother sees that her daughter's breasts are developing, she informs her to be prepared to menstruate. The fact of menstruation (taurang) is, of course, no secret to the girl. She has by that time witnessed a number of menstrual ceremonies and has observed all her life that menstrual women retire to the menstrual hut. The mother not only prepares her to expect the menstruation but informs her that it is of serious social implication for her. She points out that the girl is about to enter into adulthood and must prepare to assume adult responsibilities and to occupy an adult status. Her carefree days of play must come to an end, she is told, and she must remain in and near the house, observing her mother's activities, and learn to make skirts and become adept in the economic functions of women. Should she not take these responsibilities seriously, she is told, people will poke fun at her, and call her a 'fool fellow', which means that she will not obtain a husband. The mother cannot tell her the meaning and function of menstruation, since she does not know herself. Menstruation, like many other natural phenomena is inexplicable to the natives.

When the girl first sees flood she informs her mother, who in turn informs her husband and the members of her own family. Her husband informs the members of his family. Both families then repair to the girl's house, bringing red paint, beads, and a skirt. The father brings her a special gift of coconuts. Her entire body is smeared with paint, she is bedecked with beads, flowers, and the new skirt, and then the women sit

round her, while she stands in their midst, and sing the following song. If the song is not sung, it is believed, that rain will fall in torrents. [120]

The rat climbs up on the clouds
He drinks the rain so it won't come down
He drinks No more (shouted in crescendo)
Permit not the rain to come
Today it may fall
No more
Let the rain stop when it strikes the breadfruit pits
Away with the clouds
Not a cloud in the sky
Two babies, children of Liol
They paddle out and chase the clouds (from the north)
They paddle out and chase the clouds (from the south)
The foreskin, the foreskin
Back with it, back with it
Back with the foreskin (2)

"2. [See following sheet for footnote 2.]"

"2. [Footnote p. 120] The fanap, the townhall', is distinguished by, among other things, the huge carved phallus attached to the front pillar. But the pillar has other representational objects. On one side, carved in bold relief is a giant lizard. On the other side is painted a large fish. In front, under the phallus are painted small, stylized fish (the same kind as are tatooed on the natives' arms and legs), a rat, and flowers. Now, without claiming dogmatically the validity of a universal symbolism, this juxtaposition of objects, seemingly discrete and disparate, does make sense in terms of psychoanalytic symbolism. The fish, the lizard, and the rat are all phallic symbols, so that the rat and lizard phobia, revealed in the SERT can now be understood as penis phobias. Logically and culturally there is no explanation for their juxtaposition. Psychologically (in the unconscious) their juxtaposition is quite consistent, being symbols of the already obvious and consciously understood carved penis. And if a rat does symbolize the penis then the rat in this song may very well mean the same.

At the same time, the flower is a symbol of children in psychoanalytic symbolism, and again, from this point of view, it's presence here is not bizarre at all, but quite consistent. It represents the greatly desired product of the penis, children. This is given additional credence by the fact that in many songs a mother refers to her child as the flower of her ear. The ear is extremely interesting in view of the widely spread belief in conception through the ear, as in the case of Mary having conceived Jesus by being impregnated by the Holy Ghost through the ear."

This song is repeated a number of times, and while singing, the women perform a sitting dance, which involves the same lascivious movements of the arms and body that we have noted in the case of the bwaruch."

"At the end of this festivity [WPM: see p. 119], the girl retires to the menstrual hut, always the one of her father's homestead. She is accompanied by the entire group of women, who parade down the village path in great merriment, singing as they walk. The girl remains in the seclusion of the menstrual hut for four days, food being brought to her by members of her family. She is allowed to leave the hut in the morning in order to perform her morning ablutions in the lagoon. When she returns to the hut, she is re-painted with the red paint. No male, of course, is permitted to enter the hut. Her father goes fishing every day, and presents her with his catch. At the end of the four days, she returned to her normal routine. The skirt she has worn is removed, and she again wears the sivsiv, the grass and branch skirt.

It is to be noted that this entire ceremony is completely public. Every person in the village knows the onset of a girl's menstruation. There is neither fear nor [121] stigma attached to it, no attempt made to hide it. At the same time the public nature of the ceremony announces to all that the girl has become sexually mature and is now almost ready for marriage.

This public nature of menstruation obtains in adult life, as well. At the onset of her menstrual period the woman retires to the menstrual hut, and remains in it till its end (usually four days). She may sit outside the hut, but may not enter her own house or the house of any other person, nor may she even leave the confines of her own courtyard,

except for bathing and excretory purposes. Except for her husband and sons, no male is allowed in the menstrual hut.

However, should they or a woman, have eaten fish, they are not permitted to enter for that day. This taboo applies even to babies. Talimera and I were talking to Nautrimar, who was menstruating, and her 18 month old daughter was playing near by. The baby wanted to enter the menstrual hut, and Nautrimar interrupted our conversation at least every two minutes, to admonish the daughter with a loud, 'etap,' taboo. The daughter had eaten some fish that day.

The menstrual woman, herself, may not eat fresh fish, and she remains subject to the taboo until she has gone to the taro patch on four separate occasions.

The menstrual woman may engage only in that work which may be performed in the hut. She may not eat from the food prepared for the household, but must prepare her own food, in separate utensils, and over a separate fire, the house-fire being taboo. Her hasband and children, however, may eat the food that she prepares. Sexual intercourse is completely taboo during this period. Should the taboo be violated the woman would fall ill and perhaps die.

Unlike other aspects of sexual or bodily functioning, menstruation is not a tabooed subject for conversation, so that it is spoken of freely and openly. There is no sense of

shame or secrecy of any kind attached to it. Every one knows, of course, when a woman is menstruating because she is in the menstrual hut. When I would ask to see a woman, for example, her husband or children would state matter-of-factly that she was menstruating, and I could find her in the menstrual hut.

At the end of her period, the woman must bathe thoroughly, after which she resumes her normal routine."

28: Spiro--121
116, 841, 827, 753

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Despite the nonchalance with which menstruation is accepted the men are in fear of the menstrual blood. When asked the cause of the fear, they answer that some blood might fall in their food, or that some might fall on them. These are obviously transparent rationalizations for something which has deep-seated, emotional roots, of which they themselves are not consciously aware. At least one man, however, said that should menstrual blood fall on a man, his hair comes out, he receives a perpetual stomachache, and he becomes demented. Should a man enter the hut, all vegetation would be destroyed, and 'the chief am very angry at that man.'"

28: Spiro--121 [2]
116, 821, 841

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Again, should the [WPM: menstruating] woman not remain in seclusion, fish would not enter the lagoon, as they fear the menstrual blood. In this case too, vegetation would die, and the 'chief am very angry at that lady.' Should she walk near the southern end of the island of Felarik, where the Rangona tree grows, a typhoon would ensue."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Ted, of course, was in charge of the census operation. Tom acted as interpreter. Fagolier, the paramount chief, and Maroligar, the number two chief, went along, giving the highest possible official sanction to the procedure. The party also included a young man named Bakalimar—shortened to Bakal for ordinary purposes—who had been assigned by the chiefs to work with us, acting as general handyman and, most importantly, as dishwasher. (We did our own cooking; or, perhaps more accurately, our own can-opening.)

We were also accompanied by Tony. Tony was from the atoll of Ulithi, some 375 miles northwest of Ifaluk. He was a young man of perhaps eighteen, and had come to Ifaluk with his younger brother on the trade ship, some months before our arrival, to visit relatives. The Coast Guard had a station on Ulithi, where Tony had worked, and where he had learned fluent English. He was of no use as an interpreter in the census operation, however, because of his lack of familiarity with the Ifaluk household and clan arrangements, and because his youth made the questioning seem almost impertinent. The job required the maturity, dignity and local knowledge possessed by Tom. Tony's name, Antonio, was official, because Ulithi had been converted by a Roman Catholic Mission some years earlier—a process that included the adoption of Christian names.

The houses of Ifaluk were all on the two largest islets of the atoll, Falalap and Falarik, which were separated by a shallow and rather narrow pass. The Fan Nap, near the southern end of Falarik, was roughly in the center of the inhabited area. We started the census with the southernmost houses of Falalap, with the idea of working gradually northward until the count, household by household, was finished.

Three households—twenty-six people—were catalogued that first morning. Tom and Ted would lead the way into a household area, going inside if it was drizzling, or sitting on mats in the open during dry intervals. The available people of the household would gather about—and the available people included all of the men, all of the children except those who got scared at the strange activity and ran away, and all of the women except those under temporary quarantine in a menstrual hut.

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

Menstruating women on Ifaluk, as in many cultures, were subject to a variety of taboos. There were four special houses on the atoll which served as menstrual huts for each of the four villages into which the households were grouped. A woman, at the onset of menstruation, retired to one of these, removed from the ordinary life of the community until her period was over.

The census-taking was not a rapid process. It took interminable palavering among Tom, the chiefs and the members of each household to get a list of names, with clan affiliations, marital status, and such-like lore dear to the anthropological heart. When the list was complete, Don supervised the weighing and taking of heights—the only physical measurements practical with the available equipment. The weights were taken on a set of ordinary bathroom scales that had been picked up in Guam. The measuring pole was less prosaic—made from a pole found in the Fan Nap and calibrated to the nearest quarter inch by marking with a ball-point pen. Maroligar officiated at the weighing and measuring; after he had watched the first two or three operations, he explained to each person where to put his feet on the scales, tried to persuade him to stand up straight for the measuring, and coaxed the shier women and children into cooperating.

In the meantime I would prowl around with the big Crown Graphic camera, snapping whatever caught my interest, and popping flash-bulbs to the delight of the children who had a new toy in the used bulbs.

There was plenty of time to look around while Ted was trying to get all of the names and relationships straight. We noticed that the houses were well built, with big posts stuck in the ground to which stringers and rafters were firmly lashed with stout coconut-fiber rope; the roofs were coconut thatch, and the walls were mats woven of coconut leaves. The houses were low, and people did not stand in them, but sat or sprawled on the floor, which was very clean and covered with plaited coconut mats. There were no windows as such, but each house had four to six doors, which could be closed with more coconut mats when desired. The interiors were dim—but there was no need for good reading light. There was little or no clutter on the floor, except for a few things propped against the walls. Most of the family posses-

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

whether they died in infancy (before they could walk) or later. The ninety-two women of childbearing age or older had had 255 children, of which 151 were still living. Of the 104 deaths, sixty were either stillbirths or infant deaths, which is a high infant mortality by modern Western standards, though probably lower than that of most of the crowded Oriental civilizations.

The menstrual history of every woman was public knowledge on Ifaluk because of the custom of retiring to the menstrual huts. Tufai for a woman, then, has the definite meaning that she has passed menopause, has completed her reproductive history. We got the reproductive history of twenty-eight of these elderly ladies. They had born a total of eighty children, or an average of 2.8 each. Eight of them had had no children; one of them had had ten; most had had two, three or four.

The Ifalukians, like most people who lack a written language or system of records, had amazing memories, and I think that our histories for these women are reasonably accurate. It is difficult to interpret them precisely, of course, because of our lack of data on movement to and away from the island, and the like. Clearly, however, the population is hardly maintaining itself. The Ifalukians loved children, seemed always to want children. I could not, however, get away from a suspicion that the low birth rate reflected some sort of deliberate contraceptive or control practice, beyond such conventional taboos as the prohibition of sexual intercourse during periods of fishing. The language problem, the delicacy of the subject and our reluctance to appear to be prying into personal matters, prevented us from getting any definite information.

The population question in the Pacific is a matter of general concern. All of the islands—Polynesian, Micronesian, Melanesian—showed a great decline in population through the 19th century. The islands had probably been almost free of contagious disease before the explorers, traders, whalers and other Westerners started roaming the Pacific, bringing smallpox, measles, venereal diseases, tuberculosis and the like along with them.

The consequences were devastating, and only in recent years have introduced medicine and sanitation started to counteract the effect of the introduced diseases. Until quite recently, I suspect that most cul-